SEX HAPPINESS FOR ALL: DAVID CORT

THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 2, 1961 . . 25c

The BRASS TRUMPET

Selling Militarism to America

Stanley Meisler

BERLIN

Consequences of Crisis

John R. Dornberg

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Non-Nuclear Club

Dear Sirs: I'll settle for an old-fashioned war, i.e., non-nuclear, and to that end I wonder how many would be interested in forming a "Committee for Non-Nuclear War"? Purpose would be to get governments to pledge not to use nuclear weapons unless the others do first, thus arriving at a stalemate (as in poison gas).

In a non-nuclear war, the defeated can always come back; in a nuclear war, there is no coming back — even to a socialized society. We are all equal, and some of us think to be more equal, but nothing in Marxism or the Ten Commandments makes any of us less radioactive, if still alive. GEORGE KAUFFMAN
Berkeley, Calif.

Madmanship?

Dear Sirs: I once heard a speaker state that vanity among world leaders has been responsible for more human misery than any other single factor in history. Surely the current crisis over West Berlin would bear this out. With the world one step away from the abyss of thermonuclear war, the leaders of East and West are more concerned about a possible loss of personal prestige than with horrors that a nuclear holocaust would bring to mankind.

If two neighbors should prepare to exterminate each other, and in the process poison the air and soil of the surrounding community for generations to come, they would in all likelihood be confined to the nearest mental institution. But when this madness occurs between nations it is called international diplomacy, and the perpetrators are called statesmen. DAVID BROWN, M.D.
Bellaire, O.

Journal for Playwrights

Dear Sirs: The English and Drama Departments of Purdue University, with aid of the Purdue Research Foundation, are starting publication of a magazine of original drama to be called *First Stage: a Quarterly of New Drama.* Each issue will feature three new plays. Present plans are to issue the first number late in 1961.

We hope that this journal will help infuse life into the nearly moribund American theatre by creating an audience for serious playwrights and by bringing their work to production in theatres of all kinds across the country.

Although no payment will be made for manuscripts, all production rights will be fully reserved for the playwrights. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editors, *First Stage,* Department of English, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana. Return envelopes and postage should be included. MORDECAI MARCUS
Lafayette, Ind. Assistant Editor

Arizona's Loyalty Oath

Dear Sirs: Readers of *The Nation* should be interested in the progress of the challenge of Mrs. Barbara Elfbrandt, a Quaker and teacher at Amphitheater Junior High School in Tucson, to Arizona's new so-called "loyalty oath." We hope, of course, that the court decision upholds our contention that the oath is unconstitutional. We are determined to carry the case to the Supreme Court, if necessary. A victory for civil liberties here in Arizona would have much more than state-wide significance.

Need for funds to carry on the case is real and immediate. Readers who might want to send a contribution should make checks out to Richard Gorby, Treasurer, Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona. CLYDE R. APPLETON
Tucson, Ariz.

Speaking in Puzzles

Dear Sirs: What we really "puzzled" *Nation* puzzler fans are waiting for is a patriotic crossword-puzzle architect to use all his tricks and wanton wiles (with perhaps a few "wreathed smiles") in constructing an easily solved crossword puzzle in that "special arcane language and logic"* being currently used by local, state, national and international political aspirants.

What a hobby for a "lonely intellectual"! He might even win some sort of Summit peace prize.

FRANCES FROST LUSTIG
Charleston, S.C.

**See "The Crossword Addict," by David Cort,* The Nation, *July 29.*

Anonymous Poison

Dear Sirs: In common with other libraries, the one in which I work receives occasional gift books, many of them of an obvious propaganda nature (such as a spate of splendid brochures from the late Trujillo). Usually, the gifts are accompanied by a note giving the name of the donor. . . . Recently we received a copy of *The Negro in American Civilization,* by Nathaniel Weyl, which is a compilation of quotations, etc., giving supposed scientific proof that the Negro is inferior. . . . No note accompanied the gift. What a pity the donors cannot have the publicity they deserve!

MARY W. CAMPBELL, Librarian
Athens, Pa. Spalding Memorial Library

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

109 ●

ARTICLES

111 ● Berlin: Consequences of Crisis
by JOHN R. DORNBERG

113 ● The Brass Trumpet: Selling Militarism to America
by STANLEY MEISLER

118 ● Sex Happiness for All
by DAVID CORT

120 ● The Treaty We Broke
by WALTER TAYLOR

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

122 ● Vision of a Nightmare
by WEBSTER SCHOTT

123 ● The Historian's Subjective Art
by DAVID M. POTTER

124 ● Current Titles of Interest to Nation Readers

125 ● Return of "Publius"
by ADRIENNE KOCH

126 ● Fear Is What Quickens Me (poem)
by JAMES WRIGHT

126 ● The Starry Night (poem)
by ANNE SECTON

126 ● Junk (poem)
by RICHARD WILBUR

128 ● The Blessed Dead
by TERRY SOUTHERN

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 128)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Maurice Grosser, Art
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Lester Trimble, Music

Alexander Werth, European Correspondent

Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, Sept. 2, 1961. Vol. 193, No. 6

The Nation published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1961 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Tel: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three Years $20. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1961
VOLUME 193, No. 6

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Job of the Military

Senator J. W. Fulbright has a gift for saying the right thing at the right time. Not the least of his many contributions is his criticism of the political activities of military officers. The Senator has made it plain that right-wing views, however extreme and absolutist, are lawful (the same should apply to left-wing opinion) and those who hold these views are entitled to express them — provided they are not in uniform. This is the crux of the matter: the prestige of the uniform must not be used as a political weapon [see "The Brass Trumpet," by Stanley Meisler, page 113 of this issue].

Armies, navies and air forces are created to defend the country against external enemies. This is their sole function. To cope with internal enemies we have the FBI and other police agencies, amply supplied with funds and trained for this particular function. They may and often do abuse their power, but when the military get into that act the potentialities are far more dangerous. The weapons with which the military forces are equipped can just as easily be used to overthrow the government. Senator Fulbright speaks for the great majority of Americans when he tells the generals and admirals that they are not to use their insignia to press views that are in patent conflict both with American tradition and the policies of the government they have sworn to uphold. If they are to be free to engage in politics of this explosive and subversive type, what is to keep them from following words with action?

We live in troubled times. The country has endured severe frustrations and more are to follow. If weapons had not reached intolerable levels of destructiveness, in all likelihood the cold war would have become a shooting war ere now. That it has not done so involves a special, professional frustration for the generals and admirals. Most have borne it well and privately, but a certain number have turned to the doctrines of the extreme Right for relief. They have become vocal on the subject of the country's peril, as viewed by the John Birch Society and similar organizations. Unable to strike at communism in its homelands, they have sought an internal enemy to crush. Like the defeated German Army after World War I, which accused an internal enemy (Communists, Socialists, Jews) of stabbing it in the back, our military simplicists have attributed the nation's difficulties to "appeasement," "sellouts," "softness toward communism," etc., on the part of public officials. This can, of course, extend up to the Chief Justice, and even the President of the United States; it can be used against Negroes seeking an end to discrimination; it can be applied to anyone who harbors views opposed to those of ignorant and violent reactionaries.

Military men have a job to do, when called on by the civil authority. They do not have a mission as political educators or saviors. They are not called on to instruct the public in the theory that the income tax and welfare legislation are a Communist plot. Senator Fulbright has tried to put a stop to this incontinent and dangerous agitation, and the Department of Defense should make it stick.

We Talk Too Much

It is time for some unpleasant — and, no doubt, unpopular — truths to be resurrected about the Berlin situation. The Western Alliance owes the people of West Berlin precisely nothing. Insofar as the West Berliners are "heroes" at all, they are so by a geographic accident flowing from Germany's monumental aggressions in the immediate past. If the city, or the German question, becomes a *casus belli*, it will not be because the West is duty bound to defend the freedom of a people who not long ago crushed freedom with seven-league boots, but because, rightly or wrongly, the West believes its vital interests are on the scales. In this context, for Vice President Johnson to tell the West Berliners that the United States has pledged to their cause "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor," is not only hypocritical, but dangerous. It is an unhappy American compulsion to clothe acts of self-interest in the garb of high moral principle. The results inevitably are promises that we can never keep, that we never have any real intention of keeping. Once we were going to roll back the Russians; once we were going to help the Hungarians; once we were going to

SEP 1 1961

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberate the Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians. To precisely what West Berlin cause is Mr. Johnson pledging "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor"? To keeping whipped cream on the menus of the Kurfuerstendamm cafes? To safeguarding the irredentist antics of former Nazis? To save Willy Brandt from the consequences of his own inflammatory speeches? From what Mr. Johnson told them, the West Berliners have a right to think so.

But, of course, they are going to be disappointed — as, indeed, they are already disappointed; the West lifted not a finger to open the East Berlin door slammed so rudely in their faces by Mr. Khrushchev. Now there will be negotiations on Berlin, and in these, the West is going to have to give still more before it gets. And part of what the West gives will again be at the expense of the West Berliners, and of the West Germans as a whole. The Vice President does no service to the West Germans, whom he seems so anxious to serve, and no service to the American people, whom he is in duty bound to serve, when he talks as if the Brandenburg Gate were part of the New Frontier.

"For, better of worse," John R. Dornberg reports on page 111 of this issue, the "honeymoon" between the Western big powers and the West Germans already seems to be endangered. If true, this is infinitely for the better; illusions are no basis for international policy.

Always on the Wrong Side

The United States has a penchant for being on the wrong side (or, at most, attempting to be neutral) in struggles between colonial powers and their unwilling wards. It is as if we were trying to prove Khrushchev's case for him. The current instance is the war of extermination which the Portuguese are carrying on against the natives in Angola. In the end the Portuguese hold will be pried loose, but thousands of natives have perished, and thousands more will die, before Angola achieves independence. When the drama is finished, the liberated Angolans will not have friendly feelings toward Uncle Sam. They will remember the napalm bomb fragments, marked "property of the United States Air Force," that were used to burn their villages. They will remember NATO, which supplies arms (largely British at the moment) to the Portuguese. The purpose of these arms is ostensibly to enable the Portuguese to defend themselves against Soviet Russia, but there are no strings attached. The Angolans, and the other African and Asian peoples, will identify NATO with the United States, and they will not be far off the mark. In our obsession with the Russian ogre today, we give little thought to our position among nations tomorrow.

It is the same in Britain. "Mr. Macmillan's government," the *New Statesman* (August 11) writes, "has lavished special tokens of sympathy and friendship on Salazar." It has accompanied these with a derisive gesture. It will sell Salazar all the arms he wants, with the proviso that they must not be sent to Angola. Salazar, keeping a straight face, agrees, then ships the materiel to Angola.

In the end he will be defeated by his own people as much as by the Angolans. The dictatorship in Portugal has overstayed its time, and it may be overthrown at home before it is overthrown in Africa. The *London Times* quotes the Portuguese Ministry of Information: "Subversive propaganda protests against the dispatch of troops to Angola are being made." At recent embarkations of troops, women on the dockside screamed their sorrow and revulsion. The Portuguese High Command in Angola issues communiqués announcing the impending crushing of the revolt, but is unable to mount a real offensive. It can only burn villages and occasionally massacre their inhabitants; the back country remains in the hands of the rebels. And as the war drags on, Salazar's internal difficulties mount.

Among all the NATO allies, only Norway has acted with humanity and good sense. Norway refuses to sell arms to Portugal because, Foreign Minister Lange says, "Norway regards it as a burden for the whole Western alliance that one member-country seeks to retain colonies by force." Our State Department might well follow this lead.

Bunk About Bosses

Politicians, in agreement with the powerful intellects that staff the advertising agencies, are convinced there is no nonsense so blatant that it cannot be sold to the American public. All that is needed is a good slogan and it will sell your cigarettes or your candidate. The current mayoralty campaign in the City of New York is a case in point; it can be duplicated in municipal politics all over the country.

The current New York slogan is that now is the time to wipe out bossism — concretely, to re-elect Robert F. Wagner, Jr., and deal a death blow to Carmine De Sapio and his satellite bosses in the outlying boroughs. In truth, the city could get along splendidly without either of these luminaries, who a few years ago were bosom friends and between them have permitted the creation of a sink of corruption probably without parallel in this century. Yet there is a difference between the gentlemen. De Sapio is a Tammany boss and behaves like one: his resources of hypocrisy are limited. Wagner aspires to be boss as well as Mayor, so he crusades against bossism. Whether De Sapio's titular candidate, Arthur Levitt, or the Mayor prevails in the coming primary, one may be sure that, if elected, neither will lift a finger against the powerful lobbies and labor-business interests that really run the city.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Back in the thirties, Thurman Arnold commented on the indispensability of the political boss in *The Folklore of Capitalism*. A political party, especially on the municipal level, is an organization without dues, principles or members except in the loosest sense. It does, however, have an objective — the profit and patronage for which the municipality offers opportunities in proportion to its size. The big boss and his assistants are as essential to the management of this enterprise as are the president and vice presidents of a corporation. To pretend that, as American cities are run, bosses can be abolished, requires not merely a normal tolerance for nonsense, but a kind of special gift or charism. The voter who can be persuaded to cast his ballot on this premise may be able to write his name, but his qualifications for the franchise are otherwise in doubt.

The real choice for the city voter lies not between bossism and no-bossism, but between bosses. That is why so many voters stay at home in municipal elections.

Discrimination in the Pocketbook

Segregation and other forms of racial discrimination violate the human dignity of a minority. They also cost it money. In the case of the Negro, it is not only the oppressed sharecropper, but the middle-class Negro who is shamelessly exploited, often by respectable citizens and institutions. Articles by Thomas W. Ennis in the Sunday real estate section of *The New York Times* (July 16, 1961, "Payments Eased on Shell Houses," and August 20, 1961, "Mortgage Bias Hurting Negroes") call attention to abuses which are little known to whites, but which Negroes know too well.

In the New York area, three years ago, the Commission on Race and Housing, a private group headed by Earl B. Schwulst, chairman of the Bowery Savings Bank, reported that the restriction of Negro (or other non-white) mortgage borrowers to non-white neighborhoods was a general practice in cities all over the country. When they are able to borrow at all, non-whites receive less favorable credit terms than do whites.

In many neighborhoods it is useless for a Negro to apply directly to a bank or other loan institution. His only chance of getting a realty loan is through a mortgage broker who adds his premium to the interest and other charges. In a typical case, the mortgage broker will charge a $600 premium on a $10,000 mortgage. The borrower receives only $9,400, but must repay $10,000, with interest. In many states usury is openly practiced in the mortgage market, regardless of the borrower's skin color, but if it happens not to be white, the exactions are the more outrageous.

The Housing Act of 1961 seeks to make home ownership more attractive by extending the terms of mortgage loans and by other measures, such as improvement and rehabilitation loans. What is badly needed, now, is governmental action to end discrimination against minorities in housing. Unless lending institutions cooperate, legislation will be ineffective. It is a field in which bankers and insurance men might well examine their consciences.

BERLIN: Consequences of Crisis . . *John R. Dornberg*

West Berlin

EAST BERLIN and East Germany have been sealed off in the manner of a huge ghetto. The escape hatch, through which 4,000 East Germans were still fleeing into West Berlin twenty-four hours before the barricades were lowered, has been slammed shut.

As the Western world looked on with stunned disbelief and the Soviet bloc asserted that the action in Berlin had been taken to repulse "agitators, *provocateurs* and kidnapers," three clear and concrete facts began to emerge amidst all the tension, shouting and protests:

¶The initial phase of the Berlin crisis is over.

¶Despite earlier fears, there will be no East German uprising in the foreseeable future.

¶West Berliners and West Germans are disillusioned to the point that relations between them and the West will never be quite the same.

WHY IS the initial crisis over?

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev has described Berlin as a bone in his throat. Undoubtedly, he objects to Western propaganda activities and the fact that West Berlin had been resurrected as a "showcase" for the West. But his major concern has been the fact that Berlin served as an escape hatch for hundreds of thousands of East Germans and East Berliners. In its essentials, therefore, there has never been a "Berlin crisis" — there has been simply an East German crisis which dates back a decade.

Until 1952, it was possible for many East Germans to escape to the West directly across the borders dividing the two Germanys. That year, Pankow authorities established a three-mile-wide restricted area adjacent to the border which was barred to all East Germans except those living within its limits or having special authorization to travel. In the following three years, frontier controls became more rigid. Finally, in

JOHN R. DORNBERG, an American journalist, is on the staff of The Overseas Weekly, *published in Frankfurt, Germany.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1956, Berlin became the last means of flight. Once in East Berlin, with its four-power status, open sector borders and city-wide transit system, escape became only a matter of a five-cent underground ride or a nonchalant walk across the boundary.

The effect of this continued mass exodus on East German morale and its economy is almost impossible to measure. It must be remembered that the East German economic system has always been abnormal. The Soviets had virtually stripped the area of its industrial potential immediately after World War II. Then its newly created government attempted to impose a collective economy on a people who, by tradition, were strongly attached to the free-enterprise principle. Moreover, the new regime attemped to create a basically industrial state out of what was once Germany's major agricultural region. The result has been very near economic catastrophe.

THESE economic conditions were the chief motivation for most escapees, and their flight merely made things worse for those left behind. Day after day, in any village or city, the same scenes repeated themselves: a factory hand would be gone, a miner would not show up at the pits, a farmer would disappear from a collective, a shopkeeper would suddenly be gone, a minor official would not report at his desk. Since 1949, nearly three million East German escapees have been officially registered by the West German Government. Many more fled and were given a new start by relatives without ever being listed by official agencies.

Even given the doubtful thesis that as many as one-third of the three million have either "defected" or "redefected" from the West, the eleven-year exodus still means a 15 per cent reduction in East Germany's population and its working force. Moreover, the majority of refugees were under thirty years of age. The problems faced by the Pankow regime and the Soviet bloc — which depends on East German production — become obvious.

It was to end this mass movement that Khrushchev has been insisting on a change in the "abnormal Berlin situation" since November, 1958. When, as a result of his *aide memoire* to President Kennedy at Vienna and the feverish East-West propaganda campaign, the flow of refugees reached unprecedented proportions in July and early August, the Soviet bloc was finally compelled to act.

Punch—Ben Roth Agency
Why not?

True, Khrushchev had other objectives in mind. When he speaks about "abnormalities" in Berlin he is also referring to Western propaganda and espionage activities originating there (similar activities are just as widespread in East Berlin, of course). But the West already has offered concessions in this regard and might make more. With his plans for signing a separate peace treaty, Khrushchev hopes to gain two other objectives: *de facto* recognition of the Pankow regime and stabilization of the Oder-Neisse border. But the former is merely a matter of prestige, on which Khrushchev and the West are ready to negotiate; and the latter is already virtually a fact. The Oder-Neisse border has been recognized by France, and the United States and Great Britain are hedging mostly because they feel the issue could be used as a bargaining point.

None of these issues have ever posed a real obstacle to a Berlin settlement. Nor has there ever been a genuine threat to the freedom of the 2,200,000 West Berliners, despite all the words that have been wasted on this question. It did not take an increased defense budget, or a call-up of reserves, to convince the Soviet Premier that the United States was irrevocably committed to the defense of West Berlin.

The essential issues have been Western rights in, and access to, West Berlin and the city's role as an escape hatch for East Germans. And it is because of their interrelation that these two problems have been so crucial. As long as East Germans could escape to West Germany from Berlin over the Allied air routes, Khrushchev and Ulbricht would still be faced with the drain on the Soviet Zone's population and labor force.

Khrushchev's choices were limited. He could try to pressure the Allies out of Berlin and into surrendering their access claims. This, he soon learned, would be impossible. The alternative was to seal off East Berlin by preventing East Germans from visiting their capital and crossing into the Western sectors.

What Khrushchev undoubtedly hoped to accomplish at a Summit conference was to force this seal-off responsibility on the West. He hoped to put the West into a position of bargaining away the escape route of the East Germans.

This was the crux of the Berlin crisis: either close up West Berlin or seal off East Berlin. Khrushchev couldn't do the first and couldn't force the West to do the second. The result, aggravated by the sudden surge of panicky East Germans, was the closing of the border. Khrushchev was compelled to carry out the brutal task he had hoped to assign to the West during negotiations.

WHY WILL there be no uprising in East Germany?

Several factors speak for this. First, the Ulbricht regime would never have carried through its action unless convinced that it could be accomplished without danger. The situation in East Germany is far different today from what it was during the 1953 uprising. Soviet forces remained far in the background as the barbed-wire barriers were thrown up at the sector boundaries. The forces that held unruly crowds at bay were Vopos, the East German military and members of the paramilitary factory brigades.

Second, the East Germans, recognizing the strength of their police and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Army and mindful of the catastrophe of 1953 and of the Hungary episode, are in no mood to revolt. The plan of East Germans dissatisfied with the regime has been not to revolt, just to get out. Because of this, no resistance movement or underground necessary for an uprising has developed.

The attitude in East Germany, according to reports from there, appears to be one of resignation and also of dim hope that the present situation will not last forever. East Germany, as a satellite, differs from Hungary or Poland in that the East Germans believed until a fortnight ago — and may still believe — that reunification with West Germany and a NATO-oriented or neutral Germany is a possibility. So long as the people harbor such hopes, a resistance movement will not begin to form.

The slow Western response to the Pankow action has left the East Germans disillusioned. They have seen Ulbricht's might and they feel that if Adenauer and Kennedy did not rush to their assistance hours after the barbed wire went up, there is no hope that they would come to their aid in the event of an uprising.

WHY IS the strain on relations between West Germany and NATO so great?

The disappointment which East Germans felt over the slow response of the West is a guarded phenomenon which is leaking out through letters and in reports of West Germans recently in the Soviet Zone. But in West Germany, particularly in West Berlin, the immediate reaction — before Vice President Johnson's visit and the arrival of U.S. troop reinforcements — was open and bitter. West Berlin's *Bild Zeitung*, a boulevard sheet with a circulation of 3,000,000, covered its entire front page with a huge headline saying, "The West Does Nothing."

In an editorial, *Bild* said:

> We entered the Western alliance because we believed this would be the best solution for Germany as well as for the West. The majority of Germans, the overwhelming majority, is still convinced of this.
>
> But this conviction is not strengthened if some of our partners, at a moment when the German cause is in great danger, coolly declare: "Allied rights have not been infringed upon."
>
> The German cause is in the greatest danger. Three days already and so far nothing has happened apart from a paper protest by the Allied commandants.
>
> We are disappointed.

Most of the more sensational West German and West Berlin papers — the ones with the largest circulation — expressed similar strong sentiments. And while editorial writers on the more serious papers agreed that it would have been irresponsible for the West to have answered the Berlin action with violent measures, they expressed the feeling, rampant throughout Germany, that the Germans were merely a pawn in the game between East and West.

The seriousness of the morale problem in Berlin and West Germany was not recognized in Washington until late in the day. The State Department's attitude was that German complaints over Western inaction were merely designed to inject the Berlin situation into the West German election campaign.

When it appeared certain, however, that West German restiveness was genuine, Western response became more specific, culminating in Vice President Johnson's and General Lucius D. Clay's visit to the city. While Berliners and West Germans were jubilant that the second-highest U.S. official had been sent to Berlin, the first few days of inaction have not been forgotten.

The Germans feel that the Vice President was sent as a result of pressure and not as a spontaneous gesture of solidarity. They feel they may be left in the lurch in a real Berlin crisis — not knowing, or refusing to accept, the strong probability that the worst is over and East Germany is irrevocably sealed off. For better or for worse, so far as the West Germans are concerned, the honeymoon with the Western big powers is over.

SELLING MILITARISM TO AMERICA

THE BRASS TRUMPET . . *by Stanley Meisler*

First of two articles

IN THE SPRING of this year, Martin Burke, Gilbert Bauer and David Figlestahler, pupils of the Holy Redeemer Elementary School in Portsmouth, Ohio, wrote a letter to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. In the event of war, Russian troops "will be landing inside our borders," they told the Secretary. If that comes to pass, "the American people will defend this country in a last ditch, to the death stand, along with the military." The civilian population must train itself for this future. "Please send us any available weapons," the schoolboys asked. They listed recoilless rifles, antitank guns, bazookas, mortars, machine guns, browning automatic rifles and submachine guns. Martin, Gilbert and David said the weapons would help them learn about arms and would "help us prepare ourselves for our future military service." The boys closed with a compliment: "We the senders of this letter are in full accord with your conduction of your duties so far as Secretary of Defence" [sic].

Although the schoolboys had not learned their spelling, they had learned other lessons well, for they are growing up in a time when all the channels of communication and edu-

STANLEY MEISLER is a wire-service newsman stationed in Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cation overflow with images of war and might and glory, images that tend to obscure the views of death and destruction that linger from other times and other lands. Many teachers have inspired Martin, Gilbert and David to a call to arms and taught them the certainty of war.

Perhaps a brother, uncle or cousin, fresh home from a troop-indoctrination course in the Army, has taught them to feel the tentacles of communism gripping their country. Perhaps Elvis Presley, in the movie *G.I. Blues,* has taught them that military life offers pleasure at the same time that it demands duty. Perhaps their comic strip hero, *Steve Canyon,* has taught them the terrible price a country must pay if it lets down its guard for a moment by cutting its defense budget. Perhaps a trip to a nearby military base has taught them the thrill of touching a weapon or hearing the thunderous whistle of a jet. Perhaps their newspapers or magazines or television have taught them the imminence of war. Perhaps an admiral or a general has come to Portsmouth and taught them to beware of effeminate, easily duped diplomats who may try to make us disarm.

IN ITSELF, the letter of the schoolboys does not contain much that is objectionable. The boys wanted to affirm their faith in their country and recall the spirit of the Revolutionary Minuteman. But the letter could not have been written in any other peacetime period of American history. In no other time of peace has the military ascended to such influence and power. "The warlords . . . are now more powerful than they have ever been in the history of the American elite," C. Wright Mills has written. "They have now more means of exercising power in many areas of American life which were previously civilian domains; they now have more connections; and they are now operating in a nation whose elite and whose underlying population have accepted what can only be called a military definition of reality."

To a country which spends 59 per cent of its more than $80 billion budget on national security, Dwight D. Eisenhower gave this farewell warning as President: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." He added that "the total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government."

THE path to these heights of power and influence is cleared for the military and its industrial allies by a public relations establishment that has no equal in American public or private life. This establishment uses the press, television, movies, comic strips, civic organizations, veterans groups, schools and troops to sell the military point of view to the American people. No other point of view, save that of the President alone, can reach the people from so many sides at once. Without this military public relations establishment, three Ohio schoolboys would not have

picked up their pens to write a letter to the Secretary of Defense.

Public relations is among the newest of U.S. military weapons. Although military commanders and the War Department issue battle reports that were printed or elaborated by the press during the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, the United States military service did not issue its first formal press release until 1904. Even then, military public relations was a minor activity until World War I, when General Pershing set up a press section at his headquarters in France. After the war, public relations in the armed forces lapsed, although the Army Air Force named Major Henry H. Arnold to head its information division in 1925 (his skills are credited with helping to sell Congress and the nation on the need for a separate Air Force). During World War II, the military services, with Arnold's Army Air Force leading the way, built huge propaganda machines. These machines never have ceased grinding. "The information officer has become a key man whose advice is sought and depended upon in the communication of ideas to both the public and the troops," said an Army bulletin issued in 1957. "If there ever was a propitious time for officers to apply for specialization as an information officer, it is now."

During the Korean War, the Pentagon budget listed more than $10 million for public relations. In peacetime, this seemed too high to Congress and, after the war, vague limitations were written into defense appropriation bills, cutting the amount of money the Pentagon could spend on public relations. It is difficult to determine, however, how close the military services are adhering to the limitations.

ON APRIL 20, the Associated Press reported these budget and personnel totals for the 1960 fiscal year: the Department of Defense, which coordinates and, to some extent, supervises all public relations of the three services, has an $824,000 public relations budget and employs 73 civilians and 52 military personnel; the Army has a $387,850 budget and employs 50 civilians and 65 military personnel; the Air Force has a $295,700 budget and employs 39 civilians and 66 military personnel; and the Navy has a $111,000 budget and employs 39 civilians and 67 military personnel. In total, this meant the Pentagon spent $1,600,000 and used 451 men on public relations during the last fiscal year. But the AP noted that there were two unknown quantities: the budgets did not include the pay of the 250 military personnel; and neither the budgets nor the personnel totals included any military public relations activities outside Washington.

Military pay, particularly in the officer-stuffed Pentagon, could add well over a million dollars to the total public relations budget. The public relations work outside the capital could multiply that several times. Every Army or Air Force base and Naval district has its own public relations operation. In addition, base personnel assigned to other duties sometimes are asked to devote part of their time to public relations. The total military public relations budget is not $1,600,000, but many millions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At first glance, these millions appear to be spent on a simple mission. Arthur S. Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, put down the chief responsibility of a Pentagon public relations program in a recent directive: to "initiate and support activities contributing to good relations between the Department of Defense and all segments of the public at home and abroad." Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, the former Chief of Naval Operations, has said: "There is a vital need for us to have a determined public working with us—an alert citizenry that is conscious of the magnitude of the struggle our country is presently engaged in, and aware of the contributions the military services are making to our nation's cause."

BOTH statements are candid as far as they go, but neither makes clear that vast sums of money also are spent not so much in selling the public on government defense policy but in drawing the public into the interservice struggles that make that policy, as well as into the individual service rebellions against that policy once it is made. While debate over Department of Defense reorganization goes on, Air Force public relations men work to convince the public and Congress of its value, while Navy public relations men work to convince them of the opposite. After both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy cut back the B-70 bomber program, Air Force public relations men work to convince the public and Congress of the danger and foolishness of that decision. The channels of communication are manipulated each day with taxpayers' money, first, to implant the general military view of life on the American people and then to sell them on the peculiar prides and prejudices of the individual services.

The services have various targets for their propaganda, and the first, because it is so close, comprises the 2.5 million men and women in the armed forces and the million civilians employed by the services and the Department of Defense. But more than just 3.5 million Americans are affected by this direct propaganda. Short-term enlistments and selective service make the composition of the services fluid: there are always additional young men coming in to soak in the military point of view and others going out to spread it among the people. Then there are the four million men and women in the Reserves, and millions of servicemen's families who read every tidbit of military news they can find.

Almost every Army and Air Force base and Navy district or fleet has a newspaper supplied with weekly news, features and editorials by the Armed Forces Press Service. Magazines like *The Airman, All Hands, Army Aviation Digest, Army Information Digest* and *Naval Aviation News* also feed the military line to servicemen. But more important for molding a young man's way of thinking are the troop indoctrination courses that fill up a good part of military life.

THREE years ago, President Eisenhower and the National Security Council decided on a policy designed to concentrate all the resources of government on the cold war. Under the policy, directives were issued to enlist the Department of Defense in the psychological aspects of the battle. The directives are still classified, but Cabell Phillips, in an illuminating article in *The New York Times* last June 18, said the directives ordered officials "to take positive steps to alert the troops under their command and the public at large to the issues of national security and the 'cold war.'" Phillips added: "It is known that commanding officers were allowed wide latitude in applying the directives within their commands."

This latitude permitted officers like Major General Edwin A. Walker to attempt to smother their men with views identical to those of the John Birch Society. Walker, commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany, created a "pro-blue program" to indoctrinate troops with an "understanding of American military and civil heritage, responsibility toward that heritage and the facts and objectives of those enemies who would destroy it." Walker, like many other combat officers of the Korean War, had wanted to find out "what went wrong with some of our fighting men in Korea." The answers found by Walker became clear January 24, 1960, when he addressed 200 men of his division and their dependents. An Army report said that Walker made "derogatory remarks of a serious nature about prominent Americans, the American press and television industry and certain commentators, which linked the persons and institutions with communism and Communist influence."

Herblock: St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Army Education Program

The Overseas Weekly, an independent newspaper for servicemen, said Walker described former President Harry S. Truman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as "definitely pink" and CBS commentators Eric Sevareid and Edward R. Murrow (now director of the United States Information Agency) and columnist Walter Lippmann as "confirmed Communists." Walker continued his "pro-blue program," including the distribution of right-wing material, for more than a year after the speech until an article in *The Overseas Weekly* drew attention to his activities. The Army then admonished him and canceled his assignment to command the VIII Corps headquartered in Austin, Texas.

The Department of Defense moved no further than this admonishment, hoping that the example would prevent other generals and admirals from going too far in their zeal against communism. But all military commanders are still operating under the National Security Council directives to indoctrinate their men for the psychological battle of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cold war. The Walker case may have taught them that John Birchism is too far Right, even for the Pentagon; but they are free, within this limitation, to employ their own political views in molding the troops under their command.

THE SERVICES like to use movies in troop-indoctrination programs. Most of the films are made in Pentagon studios; but two, purchased from outside sources, won favor among commanders in the past year until angry cries from liberal groups forced the Department of Defense to put some reins on their use. The movies are *Operation Abolition,* the attempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to pin a Communist label on the student riots in San Francisco last year, and *Communism on the Map,* an attempt by the ultra-rightist National Education Program to show how communism dominates Western Europe and certain positions of power in American government, labor, the press and education. *Communism on the Map* was produced by Glenn Green, a member of the John Birch Society.

Soon after *Operation Abolition* was released, the Department of Defense and the services bought copies. John Broger, the Department's Deputy Director of Information and Education, said he authorized the purchase after he noted what he called the resemblance between the demonstrations in San Francisco and the leftist student riots in Tokyo that prevented the visit of President Eisenhower in 1960. The Army alone bought thirty prints. The National Education Program, in a brochure on *Communism on the Map,* quotes laudatory comments from several admirals and claims the Navy bought fifty prints. In a protest to Secretary McNamara last April 18, Norman Thomas noted that the movie had been shown at the Naval Air Base in Seattle; the Naval Air Stations in Brunswick, Ga., San Diego, Calif., Memphis, Tenn. and Corpus Christi, Tex.; the Navy Air Intelligence Reserve Unit at Floyd Bennett Field, Brooklyn; the Bureau of Naval Weapons in Washington; the Naval Auxiliary Air Station at Whiting Field, Fla.; the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego; the *U.S.S. Midway*; and the California Air National Guard in Compton. As the two movies reached more and more military audiences, more and more protests began to filter into the Pentagon.

McNamara reacted to the criticism in two ways. First, he removed the two movies from the list of approved educational materials—though leaving them in military libraries throughout the world for use by individual commanders if they wish. Next, the Secretary speeded up production of two films designed to supplant the controversial movies.

One, *The Challenge of Ideas,* was released in July. Cabell Phillips of *The New York Times* described it as a "sober, moving and non-glutinous portrayal of what America is and the kind of threat it faces from communism." McNamara evidently hopes this will prove a non-controversial substitute for *Communism on the Map.* The second movie, not yet released, will be based on *Communist Target—Youth,* a report by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Since the report's views on the San Francisco riots differ little from that of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, it seems futile to hope for a "sober, moving and non-glutinous" substitute for *Operation Abolition.*

THE same Eisenhower administration directive that ordered commanders to alert their troops to the Communist menace ordered them to alert the public as well. As a result, commanders have spent much of the last few years hopping off base to instill militant anti-communism into the residents of nearby communities. They have participated in, sponsored, even created "Schools on Anti-Communism," "Alerts," "Seminars," "Freedom Forums," "Strategy for Survival Conferences," "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminars" and "Project Actions." Often held on base, complete with showings of *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map* and speeches by the local commanders and by imported professional anti-Communists like Herbert Philbrick, these meetings follow a John Birch line. Under the guise of anti-communism, they cry out against all social legislation and mock anyone with different views. The Navy, whose Naval Air Station commanders have been particularly zealous at taking part in such programs, often denies official sponsorship, but it is difficult for any audience to watch a man in uniform declaim against communism and welfare state legislation without assuming he is spouting an official line.

Of late there has been some attempt to hold these militant militarists back, particularly after Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) sent an angry memorandum about them to the department. In a July 11 directive, McNamara delegated authority to Assistant Secretary Sylvester to "provide policy guidance to the commands . . . for . . . the conduct of any informational programs directed in whole or in part to the general public." McNamara also banned any military-sponsored use of *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map* in any public function. His ban is so strict that the Navy refused to let the 11th Naval District band play at a "Coast Cities Freedom Program" rally in Santa Monica, Calif., July 26, because the sponsors planned to show the two movies.

McNamara's aides have announced the start of careful screening for all material used in community-relations programs. "But," as one department official told Cabell Phillips of *The New York Times,* "this sort of screening doesn't directly affect General X if he wants to make a speech about communism in the schools or play footsie with the Birch Society people. . . . Who is to tell a three-star admiral how right wing—or how left wing—his political outlook can be?" In addition, as another official made clear, timidity often rules the civilian leaders of the Pentagon—they don't want to be tagged as "being against anti-communism."

Another problem along the same line involves the top generals and admirals who always seem to be on a foreign-policy lecture circuit. "The talkativeness of American military men, most of them reading speeches written by professional speech writers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who are paid by the government, is an international scandal," says Walter Lippmann. Waldemar A. Nielsen of the Ford Foundation points out that "Defense officials, civilian and in uniform, make several times as many speeches and write several times as many articles bearing on foreign policy as officials of the Department of State." In the four weeks between July 5 and August 2, Pentagon officials scheduled forty-five speeches to groups ranging from Syracuse University to the Texas Bar Association. Such speeches, while clear of any John Birch tinge, often stress the futility of disarmament and of negotiating with the Russians. "The question must be asked," Nielsen writes, "whether a systematic bias is not being introduced by this branch of government into the stream of American public opinion."

THE Kennedy Administration has made some attempts to tone down these speeches. Soon after Inauguration Day, Admiral Burke tried to see how far his new Pentagon bosses would allow him to go. He asked for clearance on a speech bristling with his usual truculence toward the Russians. Sylvester demanded revisions, and the White House backed him up. The situation was repeated three months later, when Rear Admiral Samuel B. Frankel, Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence, planned a speech in Austin, Tex., implying that both former Presidents Eisenhower and Franklin D. Roosevelt had been deluded into negotiating with the Russians. Sylvester again forced revisions. The Assistant Secretary's authority to revise these speeches presumably has been strengthened by the July 11 directive giving him the responsibility of "policy guidance" over all informational programs directed at the public. A new "guideline"—but not an order—issued by McNamara says:

> In public discussions, all officials of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. They should particularly avoid discussion of foreign-policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long-established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions on foreign policy, their words can be taken as the policy of the government.

But even if the Pentagon could quiet the militant right-wingers who often command installations and the admirals and generals who try to mold foreign policy, this would not stop the military point of view from flowing to the public, particularly to communities near bases. In his textbook, *Public Relations,* Bertrand R. Canfield presents a community-relations case study supplied to him by the Army. It involves the Infantry Center at Fort Benning, Ga., and clearly represents one of the prideful achievements of the Army publicity men.

At Fort Benning, a Citizens-Military Council has been created to maintain continuous ties between the base and nearby communities. Representing the citizens are the mayors of Columbus, Ga., and Phoenix City, Ala.; the chairmen of the commissioners of the two surrounding counties; officers of the local Chambers of Commerce; the president of the Columbus-Phoenix City Ministerial Alliance; the superintendents of schools; the local newspaper and radio officials; the secretary of the Columbus YMCA, and others. Representing Fort Benning are the Commanding General, the chaplains, the Public Information Officer (who is council secretary), and others.

Canfield lists some of the council's accomplishments. The Kiwanis and Rotary clubs invite four military guests to every meeting. A Boy Scout camp is held at Fort Benning. The Army post supplies an average of a speaker a week to the local civic clubs. A group of soldiers helped Union Springs, Ala., build a church. An Army major organized the Great Books discussions at the Columbus Memorial Library. Servicemen receive reduced rates for local high school and professional sports events. Fort Benning furnished "walkie-talkies" to the local Soap Box Derby so there could be communication between the start and finish lines of the race.

SCHOOLS are a prime target of the military. The Department of Defense offers film strips, records and discussion guides to school systems asking help in teaching about the nature of communism. The Navy Fleet Home Town Center in Great Lakes, Ill., has a High School News Service Division that supplies news and feature stories about the Navy, Army and Air Force to editors of school newspapers and magazines. In 1960, material was mailed to 16,000 high schools. Last May, the Navy provided the destroyer escort *De Long* for a program called "First Annual Day in the Navy"; forty-five high school boys from Westchester County, N. Y., boarded the warship for a forty-mile cruise on Long Island Sound. The trip was a brilliant piece of long-range planning. "Most of the boys are studying journalism and we want them to understand how the Navy operates," said Lieutenant Commander William J. Roach of the Naval Reserve. The dividends presumably would reach the Navy five to ten years from now, when the boys landed newspaper jobs.

THE MILITARY establishment, of course, does not confine its influence to the communities that surround bases and naval stations. It courts key Americans wherever they live. Since 1948, the Pentagon has invited men in positions of power or influence to Defense Orientation Conferences. The guests attend briefings at the Pentagon for a few days and then tour Army posts, Air Force bases, aircraft carriers, submarines and naval stations. The guest list for the first conference included Winthrop Aldrich, James B. Carey, Joseph M. Dodge, Al Hayes, David Lawrence, John L. Lewis, Daniel A. Poling, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Arthur Hays Sulzberger and Robert R. Young. Attendance at a conference entitles the guest to membership in the Defense Orientation Conference Association, a kind of alumni association that arranges refresher briefings several times a year. The association now has 1,900 members.

According to the official line, the conferences inform American leaders about military matters and solicit their views on the subject. But Maxine Cheshire, a woman's page reporter for the *Washington Post,* perhaps came closer to the truth last October 1 when she began a chatty story:

The Defense Department has a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

network of high-powered press agents across the country, and fortunately they work for free. It would take an enormous government appropriation to pay for the caliber of civilians who were assembled here this week for the ninth annual meeting of the Defense Orientation Conference Association.

It also would take an enormous government appropriation to pay for the non-official organizations that act as cheering sections for the services. These include the Navy League, the Air Force Association, the Association of the U. S. Army, the Reserve Officers Association, the American Ordnance Association, and the National Security Industrial Association—all financed largely by defense contractors. With these and the various veterans lobby organizations, as Waldemar A. Nielsen has pointed out, "the Defense Department has a built-in system of communication with the American people unequaled in scale by anything available to other federal agencies." Or to any private agency, either.

Mr. Meisler's concluding article, to appear next week, will deal with the military's use of the mass media, including the movies, comic strips and the press.

SEX HAPPINESS FOR ALL . . *by David Cort*

THIS NORMAL young couple like each other. Each finds the other somehow miraculously unique. But instead of rushing to the church or leaping into bed, we are told, they now trudge hand in hand to a marriage counselor. The furious first flush is doomed; the awesome soap opera now begins.

More usually, one of the happy pair reads a marriage counselor book. The Kinsey Institute for Sex Research replies to a formal inquiry that its library holds 1,400 of these books. Clearly this is no longer a virgin field. As to which is the definitive work, the Kinsey Institute identifies as one of "the better marriage manuals now available" *A Marriage Manual* by Drs. Hannah and Abraham Stone (Simon & Schuster), at last accounts in its forty-fifth printing since first publication in 1935 and revision in 1951. It may be safely assumed that this book has had some impact on American bedroom life, unnoted by the benighted. (Incidentally, Simon & Schuster have made a specialty of these sex manuals, perhaps as a replacement for crossword puzzles. There is a significance in this editorial progression that just narrowly eludes me. They have a new one, *Man and Sex*, directed solely at men.)

A Marriage Manual, aimed at both partners, is the first such book that, in a long and happy life, I have had occasion to read. It is really too late for it to have any effect on me. Still, a sort of vicarious pity develops as one identifies with the blank-faced, engaged couple asking questions and getting answers for 270 pages, plus assigned outside reading of fifty-seven books, plus a bibliography of about 150 books. The voice patiently answering and explaining is so kind, so patently a champion of understanding and sympathy and friendly intimacy, that one almost forgets what life is really like. It is all on the level of a guided tour of the United Nations.

Nevertheless, anyone who reads this book and the fifty-seven others must become, in a theoretical sense, a professional. And sex is the great amateur art. The professional, male or female, is frowned on; he or she misses the whole point and spoils the show.

THE PROFESSIONAL will indeed find some interesting items in *A Marriage Manual*, or any of its kind. He can boast to his vis-à-vis that the male sperm travels an amazingly circuitous route before getting out into the big world. Or she may well be interested to hear that the female egg cell is in business for only about two days, but that one must add two or three days to this "dangerous" period, if that's the way one feels about it, because live sperm loitering in the vicinity may survive for that period.

Such biological exposition has its place and justification. But when we translate much of the book's sage counsel into real life, we find ourselves teetering on the edge of farce. It is soberly advised, for example, for the somewhat impotent groom, that "marriage should not be entered into unless the future wife is fully cognizant of the man's disability and is willing to accept him in spite of his condition." "My dear," says the fellow, "there's something you should know." Surely the words would stick in his throat. The self-assurance required to take such a gamble with his heart's desire is certainly not given to this man. The relationship, like most others, is a hand in a poker game; and is he to turn his nothing-cards face up at this point? As a human being, he is loaded with baseless hope; perhaps this time things will be different. And he has already phrased half a dozen alibis, anyway.

The phenomenon of such advice may easily have spawned the fiction school represented by Nathanael West and Samuel Beckett. Society with the kindly smile is out to destroy the hapless individual, without giving him a chance to ruin himself by himself. Even if the lady marries him and his disability vanishes, what does she say when she is angry at him for any inconsequential reason? As one imagines the epithets boiling out of her larynx, and the poor man's outraged countermeasures, one sees another marriage wrecked on too much good advice.

It might be wiser for that man to tell his girl that he has always been a grand stallion; he may even convince himself. Anyway, he can

DAVID CORT'S latest book is a novel, The Minstrel Boy (*Macmillan*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then blame any failure on the girl: a much better poker hand. The human solution has always been to keep the mouth shut on bad news, and take life's chances as they loom.

Other advice covers premarital examination of seminal fluid, in case the groom is short on sperm; blood examination for the Rh factor; premarital dilation of the hymen in virgins; "an understanding attitude, mutual sympathy, a conscious effort, and deliberate restraint" (fine words, indeed); plenty of "foreplay" (a word not in the dictionary); and the lady's ignoring of fictional descriptions of female raptures and restraint of the impulse to tell her husband how indifferent she is (good advice, this). The authors quote, but do not necessarily endorse, Balzac's belief that a man should not marry "before he has studied anatomy and has dissected at least one woman." Hasn't anybody advised women first to dissect at least one man?

I must admit to a suspicion that such books are largely aimed at drumming up trade for doctors and doing a PR job for the profession. A good deal of space is given to the rare condition of vaginal spasm (vaginismus), that is, a hysterical clenching that prevents consummation. Obviously, any couple in this difficulty are going to go to a doctor; why tell everybody about it? But, of course, it makes doctors feel needed, and superficially justifies the whole book.

The social and moral position of the book is that of a nice elderly couple — as the authors were — who want very sincerely to be broad-minded and up to date. It is a purely lovable attitude, but it leads to what I take to be the main propaganda point of the book, after the biology, adjustments, etc., have been cleared away. This is that every woman in the world is entitled to frequent orgasms, and that every husband is required by some new Mosaic law to help the good work along.

THEORETICALLY true, actually abominable and disastrous. Should one lift one's eyes from the page and look at the real world instead, unawed by these two kindly doctors, one sees that for a large proportion of women, at this very moment in their lives, a shaking emotional convulsion in the home, perhaps accompanied by embarrassing outcries, would undercut the whole foundation of the woman's life. The house is full of children; the walls are thin; and, finally, she regards it as highly undesirable to give her husband so much psychological advantage over her. A mild, loving, fond pleasure is one thing; a pit of ecstasy is quite another. Should the husband begin any of the erotic

maneuvers prescribed by Drs. Hannah and Abraham Stone, the wife would either laugh at him, or remonstrate.

THIS IS not merely an opinion. The authors give several sets of statistics that roughly coincide on the fact that 60 per cent of women reach what they call a sexual climax rarely or never. Probably most of the other 40 per cent are childless or adulterous. But it is agreed, and probable, that the 60 per cent truly love their husbands, and truly enjoy their embraces, and are likely to be faithful wives and good mothers. Why cannot men therefore agree that these ladies know what they are doing? Why cannot marriage counselors do so?

Making sexual rules for women strikes me as an egregious impudence. They are primarily affected by factors the man is unaware of. A few are as potent at the age of twenty as the best men. Some are absolutely frigid into the thirties, and then come alive, with mixed feelings. Some start slow, have a mild heyday, and firmly abandon sex in their forties. Most spend their lives kidding their husbands. A few waste away looking for a hero who will be worthy of them. But in each such group, temperamental differences produce wide variations. A woman can change completely to suit the society or situation she finds herself in. If the asexual role is indicated, she turns asexual. A man has no such chameleon ability, unless he is that abomination, a professional.

In short, I cannot imagine what the lady author of *A Marriage Manual* thought she was doing in trying to explain sex to women. Men are the only people sex is worth explaining to. They at least are trying to do something about it.

But are nice, kindly, uninspired doctors competent to do the explaining? Some predecessors of this book have been Ovid's poems, the *Kama Sutra*, and *The Perfumed Garden*, as the authors proudly point out. But how much more talent went into the earlier works! It is unfortunate that the greatest writers did not apply themselves to this subject, but perhaps they knew very little about it. Or perhaps they had the wit to see that the subject was too big for anybody.

To define the size, one would have to multiply at least three very large numbers. But in any generalized "manual" (an interesting word, in this connection), one can present only one pair of tubes, glands and organs, certain words such as companionship, intimacy and sympathy, the methods of contraception (this is called "Family Planning"), and a few possible moves and positions — described under the heading, "The Art of Marriage."

THE ART of marriage is quite different from this. Most men would agree that it consists of listening to a woman for several hours without getting tired, and inhibiting the appropriate rational comment on the propositions she enunciates, and other adjustments, all fairly difficult for young men, but fairly easy for older men.

The bedmanship is, in real life,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

secondary or tertiary, and this truth is what drives a real Don Juan into a helpless rage. Men who are sexual *maestros, know it and can prove it,* will discover, if they are only that, that they cannot keep a woman, even an inferior or equally passionate woman. But they can keep the woman just by hanging around the house, and maybe washing the dishes, and getting her friendly with his female relatives. Don Juan, even with $100,000,000, cannot beat the system, unless he is also Louis XIV. That is, he can beat it if he can endow her with unassailable superiority to other women, without marrying her. Nowadays this little feat is difficult to bring off; the Don Juan is soon reduced to rubble by the alimony laws.

It would be interesting to make a marriage manual out of knowledgeable men's and women's objections to this book. The result would at least show that any simple description of all the males and females in the world does not begin to describe any one pair, and is therefore massively irrelevant. Further, one watches the fine little vision of bliss that the couple had brought to the doctor's office growing fainter behind the dust storm of generalized information. More faintly, one can hear the dogged mutter: Oh, but we're not like that at all. And of course they are right.

The horror of a mass society, buying this book in its forty-fifth edition, is that it cannot respect anything so individual and precious; it does not know the appropriate language; or fears the right words would be meaningless to some fractions of the mass, misunderstood by others, and offensive to still others.

Such a book, as an organized presentation of an imperfectly sensed passionate reality, deserves to be reviewed as a novel, or long poem. In this sense, one long passionate look immediately reduces it to ash. Suddenly, it isn't there any more.

THE TREATY WE BROKE . . *by Walter Taylor*

IN 1790, when our infant nation desperately needed the friendship of the powerful Seneca Nation of Indians in western New York State, George Washington spoke to the concerns of Seneca leaders:

> Your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands; and I have, therefore, upon this point, meant to be sufficiently strong and clear, that in the future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands; that you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell, your lands; that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely upon yourselves.

This promise was firmly incorporated in the Pickering Treaty of 1794, oldest United States treaty still in force, which declares unequivocally:

> Now, the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries, to be the property of the Seneka nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneka nation, nor any of the Six Nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: but it shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

For more than thirty years now, however, the Seneca Nation *has* been most rudely disturbed, and may become totally disrupted, by the planning of the Army Corps of Engineers to construct a high dam at Kinzua, Pennsylvania. The dam would back flood water across the New York State line, causing the total relocation of some 750 Seneca Indians whose ancestors cherished this land long before the white man ever saw it.

Now that the Kinzua Dam (known as the Allegheny Reservoir Project) has been authorized by Congress and preliminary funds appropriated, it will require an eleventh-hour reprieve, probably by the President, to save a condemned Indian nation, to preserve a treaty as firm and permanent as any we have ever signed, and to maintain George Washington's reputation for integrity.

Some argue that we have broken numerous other Indian treaties in the name of "progress" and that Congress has a right to take *any* land by eminent domain. While these arguments have been countered by such advocates of moral national behavior as Associate Justice Hugo L. Black, *The New York Times* columnist Brooks Atkinson, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, there is one remarkable fact in the Kinzua Dam controversy which should make congenial bedfellows of moralists *and* pragmatists: The taking of Seneca land by unilateral violation of the Pickering Treaty *is not necessary* to accomplish the purposes of the Kinzua Dam. An alternative has been proposed which may be more practical and less costly.

The Seneca naturally want to remain in their lovely valley, which means more to them than most non-Indians can imagine. To them, there is no compensation for the loss of land which is their heritage, and which is closely related to their religion and philosophy of life. "The land is your mother," Indians have said. "You do not sell your mother." But the Seneca are also reasonable people. They recognize the need for flood control and water conservation on the upper Allegheny River. So the Seneca Nation sought the advice of Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, internationally known engineer, first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and a former president of Antioch College. They asked him to see if there was any feasible alternative to the Kinzua Dam which would serve the public without infringing

WALTER TAYLOR is national representative of the American Indian Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on their treaty rights. Dr. Morgan told them flatly that if he should find that Kinzua was essential to the protection of a great city like Pittsburgh, he would advise them not to object—and they agreed.

Beginning in 1957, however, Dr. Morgan *did* discover an alternative. It is so attractive, in his professional judgment, that its advantages far outweigh the benefits to be obtained from Kinzua. He submitted no less than five preliminary plans for what has come to be known as the Conewango-Cattaraugus alternative, to the Army Corps of Engineers, and ultimately submitted Plan 6, more detailed than its predecessors. *Congress has never had the benefit of an impartial, competent engineering comparison of the authorized Kinzua Plan and Dr. Morgan's Plan 6, the Conewango-Cattaraugus Plan.* All it has had are the obviously prejudiced views of the authors of the Kinzua Plan. Yet an impartial review is all the Seneca Nation asks. In a letter to President Kennedy on Washington's Birthday, Basil G. Williams, President of the Seneca Nation, restated the approach of his people:

> The Seneca Nation always has taken the position that we will abandon our opposition to the Kinzua Dam if and when it is shown by competent, objective evidence that a feasible alternative does not exist.

Mr. Williams appealed to the President ". . . to make an independent investigation into the merits and comparative costs of the Kinzua Dam and Dr. Morgan's Cattaraugus-Conewango alternative," and, in the interim, to "direct that work be halted on the authorized project."

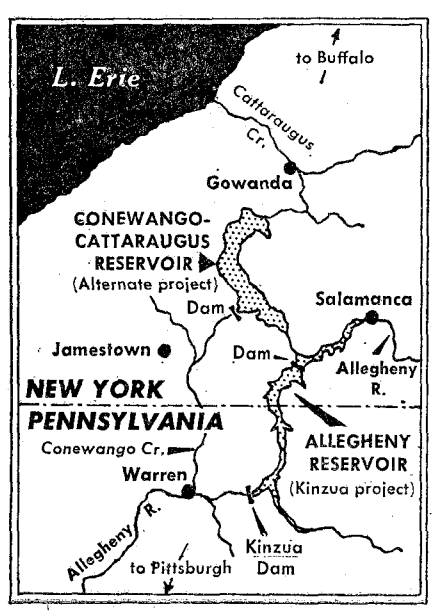
Last May, the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends published a pamphlet entitled, "The Kinzua Dam Controversy: a Practical Solution—Without Shame." The pamphlet proposes

> . . . That a highly competent, independent board of engineers and economists be called immediately to examine the available data for the Kinzua and the Conewango projects.
>
> That they pursue such further field studies as may be necessary.
>
> That they report their findings on costs and benefits as a basis for sound Congressional decision.

The pamphlet does not presume to pass judgment on the technical engineering and economic allegations which are in dispute, but it does press the point that only an *impartial* review can "clear the controversial air and reveal to our government the pro's and con's of the two major proposals."

IN A LETTER to President Kennedy dated March 16, 1961, Dr. Morgan summarized for the layman his professional judgment on the relative merits of the two plans:

> In fixing on the Kinzua Dam site more than thirty years ago, the Corps of Engineers made a colossal blunder or oversight in failing to discover the Conewango-Cattaraugus site, with diversion of excess flood waters into Lake Erie. As compared with Kinzua, choice of the Conewango-Cattaraugus location would save the Seneca Indian reservation, would protect Pittsburgh from twice as great a flood as would Kinzua, and would entirely remove Upper Allegheny flood water from the Ohio, thus saving the need for spending probably more than $100,000,000 for additional reservoirs; and especially, Conewango Reservoir with its vast capacity would make possible the storage of three times as much water as would Kinzua for increasing low water flow in the Ohio River — and all this at less cost than Kinzua. . . .
>
> Necessity will compel the construction of the Conewango Reservoir, probably within twenty-five years. If Kinzua has been built, it will then stand as a useless monument to a hundred-million-dollar blunder,



and to the violation by the United States of its unqualified solemn promise to the Seneca Nation. . . .

> Through . . . extreme misrepresentation [by the Army Corps of Engineers], members of Congress, officials of the State of Pennsylvania and civic leaders of Pittsburgh have been led to commit themselves publicly to the construction of Kinzua. Now it is embarrassing and of questionable political strategy for them to reverse themselves and to favor an independent comparison of the two plans.

IN THE FACE of opposition from some of President Kennedy's strongest and most widely respected political supporters, it will require of him an act of courageous statesmanship to issue an Executive order for an impartial engineering review of the facts in this dispute. Such an order, however, would go far in preserving for many deeply concerned citizens their faith in the democratic process. It would demonstrate the determination of this country to honor its treaty obligations or at least to *negotiate* any necessary changes on the basis of objective evidence. The President has an opportunity to keep the solemn promises of two great predecessors, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, who explicitly reaffirmed in 1802 the right of the Seneca Nation to remain "in the quiet possession of their land." President Kennedy can show American Indians, as well as other "little people" of the world, that his Administration speaks in deeds as well as words to the rights of an overpowered minority.

The remarkable thing about the Seneca position is that the true self-interest of the tax-paying public happens to coincide with honorable treatment of the Seneca Nation. The need is for an impartial examination of the facts. If we are then convinced of the desirability of Kinzua, we can *negotiate* a treaty revision with the Seneca Nation, instead of embarking on unilateral abrogation (which we so roundly condemn when other nations do it). If, on the other hand, objective study should verify the enormous benefits claimed for the Conewango plan, there will no longer be any question of violating a treaty or of breaking the solemn promises of two United States Presidents.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Vision of a Nightmare

THE LIME TWIG. By John Hawkes. New Directions. 175 pp. $3.50 cloth, $1.35 paper.

Webster Schott

JOHN HAWKES has now written six novels, but except to a handful of admirers he remains unknown. His books are absent from the public and university libraries. When reviewed at all they have generally been condemned as erratically brilliant in a few paragraphs near back covers. His name never lands on anyone's list. He is out of the right magazines, out of the anthologies and out of the literary life.

There is a wall between John Hawkes and what ought to be his audience. He erected it, but that does not alter the fact that Hawkes is a writer of substantial merit who has been willing to fail in order to succeed. Right now there is no one else in the United States writing in Hawkes's style or from his point of view. His novels are both visionary and circumvolved, expressing a highly individualistic conception of the dread, terror and calamity that confront humankind. They are at once complex allegories and private renderings of post-Freudian psychological insight. They are surrealistic in their distortions, Gothic in their horror, existentialist in their fatalism. His vision of the human condition is the vision of a nightmare, and to find parallels for his methods and ideas one must turn to Europe — to Gottfried Benn, Kafka, Céline, Beckett, Ionesco, Genet. But they are only parallels. Hawkes is an American original.

I RECENTLY reread all of his novels—*Charivari* (1949), *The Cannibal* (1950), *The Beetle Leg* (1951), *The Owl* and *The Goose on the Grave* (published together in 1954) — after finishing *The Lime Twig*, hoping better to be able to say in plain language what they are literally about, for much of the criticism of John Hawkes has been as garbled as hostile. But his novels possess the ambiguity of the deranged world Hawkes creates out of memory, myth and illusory images, and which we walk through every day. One sets down the probable and immediately the possible leaps to mind.

Completed in Albert Guerard's creative writing course at Harvard after Hawkes had returned from driving an American Field Service ambulance in Germany and Italy, *Charivari* is a caprice about a young Englishman's flight from family and marriage into hallucination; on the other hand, it appears to be a tragicomedy about wickedness of caste and the collapse of sex. *The Cannibal*, also completed in Guerard's class and one of Hawkes's most precisely balanced novels, envisions a baroque postwar Germany populated by human wreckage and ruled by a solitary American soldier who races through the night on a motorcycle. Black Germany rises again from the ashes of two wars, and its phoenix is a monstrous reincarnation of Adolf Hitler. But I am just as certain that *The Cannibal* is about the universal triumph of evil, sex rendered impotent, and a world "as shriveled in structure and decomposed as an oxen's tongue black with ants." The compelling event of *The Beetle Leg*, Hawkes's only novel placed in America, is the sacrificial death of a construction worker during the building of a great irrigation dam in the West, and Hawkes means to force his characters into self-revelation under the impact of the man's death. But *The Beetle Leg* moves along the edge of parody. Hawkes's contempt for the popular "Western" hangs like a desert haze over his search for truths hidden within myth.

Both *The Owl* and *The Goose on the Grave* are laid in Italy. The first takes place in a medieval citadel ruled by a narrator-dictator-hangman who is also an owl, nocturnal instrument of inevitable death and extension of the misanthropic will of the pagan Christians the hangman rules. The locale of *The Goose on the Grave* is the raped Italian landscape of World War II. An orphan boy wanders across the ruins in search of his mother, falling in with the deracinated and menacing human debris left by the war. Each about 100 pages long, these novellas belong together, for they describe, I think, the death of love. But they are also pervaded with anti-authoritarianism and anticlericalism, and on another level they may be read as lamentations over the failure of action and an epidemic human resignation to defect and consequent destruction.

All of John Hawkes's novels are of a piece or of related pieces: In a letter to me, he says: "I'm concerned with annihilation, the terror of human incompletion, the beauties that lie behind degradation. For me such a perverse or comic treatment of violence ultimately results in moral vision and is intended, ultimately, to uncover the deepest sympathy of all."

Most of his techniques and themes repeat in his novels: the fantastically irrational juxtaposed with the concretely realistic; faulty observation of events but accurate perception of their effects; zigzag narrative lines; rushing passages of dark lyricism; bizarre metaphorical images (a monkey suddenly screams "Dark is life, dark, dark is death" in *The Cannibal*, and in the midst of a dialogue sequence in *Charivari* "the cat's jaw broke the wings of the thin bird") are injected at points of mock climax. Hawkes enjoys playing with numbers, colors, syntax. He creates suspense, often to squander it in rhetoric. There is a cold, oracular air about his novels which implies hidden wisdom and unrevealed confidences—side effects of Hawkes's deliberate timelessness. His characters taste sex but do not feel it. They are plagued by disturbing but vaguely meaningful memories. They do not so much move as wander through Hawkes's disfigured territory. Violence and death follow overhead like birds of prey. His plots play themselves out in patterns of chiaroscura and mock seriousness. These qualities merge like collages, largely failing at conclusion in *Charivari* and *The Goose on the Grave*, succeeding in *The Cannibal* and *The Owl* and to a lesser degree in *The Beetle Leg*.

GRADUALLY, it seems to me, Hawkes has been bringing his astonishing imagination and frustrating prose style under control, and the best evidence of his ability to discipline his experimentation into art is *The Lime Twig*. This novel possesses the nearest thing to traditional narrative order Hawkes has produced; the extraneous privacies of *The Owl* and *Charivari* have yielded to relationships required by character and plot; his stark figures have begun to acquire flesh; the phantasmagoria of myth and history has been replaced by the clearer

WEBSTER SCHOTT reviews regularly for the Kansas City Star, *the Louisville* Courier-Journal *and the* Christian Science Monitor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terrors of the present, which, as I understand him, Hawkes has intended to explore from the start. The novel is placed in London during and after the Blitz. It begins with William Hencher's efforts to save his demented mother from the German bombings and his sick affection for a couple who occupy his house after the old woman's death during an incendiary air raid. Hencher experiences a vicarious eroticism in the presence of Michael and Margaret Banks and their possessions. His psychopathic attachment to them is so powerful he is drawn into Michael's wild scheme to steal a once-famous horse, run it under a false name and bet on it in the Golden Bowl race. Banks falls in with assorted underworld characters (dopesters, pimps, harlots, murderers), gratifies lust repressed since childhood and loses his own and his wife's life in the mad bargain.

The Lime Twig becomes a fiction of terror. Hencher is kicked to a bleeding, dead mass in a stable. Margaret is beaten to death by a sadist. Michael, deranged by his erotic holiday, throws himself beneath the hooves of the horses in the final stretch. Within the context of *The Lime Twig* there can be no disbelief, the problem which along with the obstinacy of language has separated Hawkes from his audience so long. The real-life approximations of his characters behave exactly like Hencher, Banks and the race-track riffraff of the social underground. The terror Hawkes creates is the terror of the nightmare, but we all know it. The comedy is macabre, but we have all laughed at it. Place *The Lime Twig* (or sections of Hawkes's other novels) beside the recitations of inhumanity and mad comedy confronting us daily in our press and his work acquires the unassailability of truth.

I HAVE been keeping a file on the Hawkesian world as described in the Kansas City *Star*. At Tujunga, California, recently, a teen-age boy admitted to police he had tried to push a housewife into a drying machine at a coin-operated laundry because he was experimenting for a method to kill his younger brother, who was better looking than he. And several weeks ago the monkeys at Swope Park Zoo in Kansas City escaped monkey island. Thirty of them swung through the trees in primitive freedom, chattering incessantly; a comic photograph shows firemen climbing up aerial ladders to catch them. Another story tells of two teen-age soldiers who murdered seven persons in a nutty cross-country spree. One of their victims, a 62-year-old Union Pacific roadmaster, happened to be walking to work along the highway. They shot him to death, using both their guns — apparently just for the hell of it.

The traditional "realistic" novel of the nineteenth century has run out of steam in the twentieth century. It has become technologically obsolescent because "realistic" fiction cannot keep up with fact. The novel is not dead, but journalism has killed a certain novelistic genre. To create a viable presentation of what human experience is really like or becoming in the twentieth century the modern writer is driven away from realism (Hawkes and Guerard call the technique "anti-realism") into a complex of psychology, fantasy and myth. Hawkes, Albert Camus, George Orwell and the other writers I have mentioned achieve their meaning at the points where their distortions coincide with everyday horror or historical absurdity. This, it seems to me, is what makes John Hawkes's novels art, covert and tentative though they be. Despite their obstacles, which Hawkes seems very aware of, within their boundaries they make believable what is unbelievable in life.

Hawkes considers his novels to be sympathetic and so do Leslie Fiedler and Guerard, the only two persons I know of who have written intelligently about his work. Perhaps one can read sympathy or a kind of hope into Hawkes's fiction if one equates sentiment with awareness. I do and I don't. The creative act, others have said too often before, is the most affirmative of human acts. But Hawkes's novels speak to me primarily of human decline, failure and collapse. It may be that the maimed souls of *The Lime Twig* are searching for the possibilities for love in an unreasoning world. If so, the possibilities lead only to destruction. The searchers die. The criminals live.

There are influences in John Hawkes's writing. As a student he wrote poetry, and lines and images from T. S. Eliot turn up in *The Cannibal* and *Charivari*. Karl Menninger's theory of self-destruction weighs heavily in his books, and Hawkes's decomposition of reality, leading to a disarrayed consciousness and random associations like those we live by, reminds one occasionally of Nathanael West, whose critical biography Hawkes has contracted to write. There are also threads to Céline, Kafka and, of course, Freud. Hawkes himself believes "the shape of a significant fiction should be determined by the writer's own inner conflicts and needs—conflicts and needs so 'true' as to be impersonal."

I shall leave the refinement of John Hawkes's sources to those who will study him after he is "discovered." The discovery is inevitable but not necessarily near. It will depend upon Hawkes's and others' ability to create an audience responsive to baroque visionary art, and on a profound change in public awareness about the nature of modern experience. In the meantime it will be impossible, I suppose, to convince any but those who have read his novels that in Providence, Rhode Island, teaching English at Brown University, is a quiet American of thirty-six who is writing novels of force and imagination at a pitch with the most terrifying and relevant modern drama and fiction reaching our shores from Europe. Hawkes is a prophet in his own country.

The Historian's Subjective Art

TURNER AND BEARD: American Historical Writing Reconsidered. By Lee Benson. The Free Press. 241 pp. $5.

SOME 20TH-CENTURY HISTORIANS: Essays on Eminent Europeans. Edited by S. William Halperin. University of Chicago Press. 298 pp. $5.95.

THE AMERICAN HISTORIAN: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past. By Harvey Wish. Oxford University Press. 366 pp. $7.50.

David M. Potter

THE PRACTICE of historians writing about other historians is an old one. In recent years, however, historiography has experienced a transformation, not always recognized even by writers of historiography, but giving to it a new significance as the main focus of historical criticism. This transformation has come about because our concept of history itself has altered. Until two or three decades ago, it was the dogma of professional historians that an objective reality called "history" could be extracted from manuscripts and archives by applying precise "scientific" rules of historical method. According to this dogma, any two persons applying the rules correctly would arrive at an identical result, and therefore criticism was directed to questions of method, rather

DAVID M. POTTER is Coe Professor of American History at Yale University and the author of People of Plenty (*University of Chicago Press*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Current Titles of Interest to *Nation* Readers

THE MINSTREL BOY. David Cort. Macmillan. $4.

A novel of love, power and holocaust. The central character is foreign news editor of a New York daily in the days of Munich.

THE UN-AMERICANS. Frank J. Donner. Ballantine Books. 60c.

A documented, comprehensive account of "the exposure system" of Congressional inquisitorial committees. A part appeared in *The Nation.*

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN THE USA. Goals and Priorities. Peace Publications. $2 cloth; $1 paper.

A symposium by fourteen Americans, edited by Helen Alfred.

THE CROSS OF THE MOMENT. Bert Cochran. Macmillan. $5.

Persuasive speculation by a close student of social developments on what America will do and experience in the decades immediately ahead.

SCHIZOPHRENIC BERLIN. John Dornberg. Macmillan. $6.50.

A young American on the staff of the *Overseas Weekly* makes a stern evaluation of present-day Germany. A section of the book appeared in *The Nation.*

AFTER THE SEVENTH DAY. Ritchie Calder. Simon & Schuster. $6.95.

What man has wrought — for good or evil — from before the dawn of history to the enigmas waiting in the future. The world history of technology by one of the leading "Boswells of modern science."

LEADERS AND LIBERALS IN 20th CENTURY AMERICA. Charles A. Madison. Ungar. $6.50.

An analysis of eight liberals who influenced the development of the "welfare state." By the author of *Critics and Crusaders*: A Century of American Protest.

than to the men who applied it, and to the historian's way of authenticating data rather than of interpreting it.

But it is now more than thirty years since various historical relativists like Benedetto Croce, Charles A. Beard and Carl Becker overthrew the ascendancy of "scientific" history by showing how much selectivity enters into the historian's choice as to which items of data to use, and how much subjectivity is involved in his choice among alternative ways of interpreting them. At the time of their revolt, no one fully perceived how their ideas would alter the medium of historical criticism. But the effect has been to shift attention away from questions of method, and to focus instead upon the assumptions and the ideology with which the historian approaches his work. Only by such a focus can we ever explain why a group of "objective" historians who happen to have one affiliation will, in large part, agree on one answer to a historical question, while another group who happen to have a different affiliation will agree on a different answer. It is more than coincidence that historians who favored the Union in the Civil War have been more often Northern than Southern, or that Bismarck has received one treatment by French historians, another by German.

AS THE subjective elements have become better recognized, historiography, which gives opportunity to examine the subjective and ideological factors in the mind of the historian, has become the natural and logical vehicle of historical criticism. This new role of historiography is to some extent evident, though not always as much as it should be, in the three volumes listed at the head of this review. First, Lee Benson has written on the two American historians who have been most influential and most controversial—Frederick J. Turner and Charles A. Beard. He does not deal with either of them comprehensively, but discusses particularly the impact of the ideas of Achille Loria upon Turner, as well as the general background of prevailing ideas about "closed space" and other pertinent topics at the time when Turner was formulating his hypothesis that the influence of the frontier has been crucial in American historical development. In dealing with Beard, Benson seeks to discredit the attacks of Robert E. Brown and Forrest MacDonald upon Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution, and then, after rescuing Beard from these assailants, to demolish him all over again from a new direction—for consistent failure to distinguish between economic influences and economic determinism. The latter point is well argued, but Benson is less effective in his efforts to dispose of Brown and MacDonald. Both of these, and especially the latter, marshaled extensive evidence which is simply not compatible with Beard's interpretation, but Benson presents little evidence to refute theirs, and engages more in denying than in disproving their contentions.

The second volume is a collection of essays by ten American professors and one American embassy secretary on eleven European historians—six of whom are still living. Four of these eleven are English; four, French; two, German; and one, Belgian. The collection as a whole was edited by S. William Halperin, in honor of Bernadotte Schmitt, and the contributors are all former Schmitt students. Throughout these essays, which cannot here be considered in detail, one sees the vital part played by the historian's assumptions and his position on questions of policy: George Macaulay Trevelyan's view of the age of Queen Anne, we are told, "is distorted by his belief in the historical continuity of the two-party system in English political life"; George LeFebvre's criterion for the analysis of class structure was "wealth and income," to the exclusion of occupation, residence, family and other factors; Herbert Butterfield misconstrues parliamentary history because "he remains in the congenial world of rational intentions and ideational programs . . . and neglects the meaner aspects of political maneuvering"; or, in the case of Sir Charles Webster, we encounter a denial that he has consistently glorified British policy—instead "he simply chose periods in which British policy was triumphant and something to be proud of."

The third item in this group, Harvey Wish's *The American Historian,* will be of much wider interest than the other two, for it provides virtually the only general history of American historical writing which is both comprehensive and recent. It is, in places, too literal: for instance, we are told that, "Henry Adams shamelessly misled his own readers in his classic autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams,* by picturing himself as a failure in life." But it sets forth the record of the major writers of American history, and it will be much used, even, perhaps, by its critics.

Wish recognizes clearly the subjective problem, and he points out the subjective factors which influenced the work of major writers. Like most critics of whatever persuasion, however, he is quicker to detect such factors in positions he does not like, such as conservativism, ethnocentrism, nationalism, middle-class orientation, than in those he approves of, which are various aspects

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of liberalism. He is not blind to the faults of those he praises nor to the merits of those he downgrades, but in general his tone separates the good guys from the bad guys. Thus, "For all his drawbacks, Hildreth [an abolitionist] showed much more realism and intellectual sophistication than most American historians of his day. He was among the few to escape the New England chauvinism and Anglo-Saxonism of Bancroft, Palfrey and Parkman, and he could treat controversial topics like the American Revolution with modern objectivity."

Wish's own assumption that objectivity is modern, and perhaps that he, as a modern, has objectivity, is his Achilles' heel. At another point he writes that "the mid-twentieth century historian of the South could only claim that his facts are more accurate than [those of Ulrich B.] Phillips," who published his chief work between 1918 and 1929. But he has not shown that any of Phillips' facts were inaccurate, and his verb should be *hope* rather than *claim*. Wish's own assumptions would lend themselves to as much dissection as the assumptions which he dissects, as he would perhaps agree.

The ultimate problem here is that while historiography is in part criticism of history, it is also in part history itself —the history of historical writing—and is thus characterized by the same frailities as the material it criticizes. As criticism, it provides perspective on other historians, but as history, it needs perspective upon the historian who writes it. *Quis custos custodet?* Literary criticism, legal criticism, musical criticism, are not expressed in the same medium as the work which they criticize, and are therefore not necessarily subject to the same limitations, but historical criticism is. As a consequence, history remains peculiarly caught in its own convolutions, and the discovery of a vantage point from which to take a truly detached view of historical writing remains one of the unfulfilled goals of the realm of learning.

Return of 'Publius'

THE FEDERALIST. By Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay. Edited by Benjamin Fletcher Wright. Harvard University Press. 572 pp. $7.50.

THE FEDERALIST. Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Wesleyan University Press. 672 pp. $12.50.

THE FEDERALIST PAPERS. Selected and edited by Roy P. Fairfield. Anchor Books. 328 pp. $1.45.

THE FEDERALIST PAPERS. Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New American Library. 559 pp. 75c.

Adrienne Koch

WHILE every student of American politics and political thought points with pride to *The Federalist* as America's great political classic, one cannot quite shake the memory of Mark Twain's definition of a classic as "something that everybody wants to have read and nobody wants to read." Or at least so it has been—save for conscientious scholars, students of legal history, and constitutional lawyers in America, indeed throughout the world—for much of the 170 years since *The Federalist* papers were first published. The eighty-five papers were written at a dizzy clip by the principal authors—Hamilton and Madison. Jay, who contributed five essays, was saved by an incapacitating attack of rheumatism, which lasted through the winter of 1787-1788, from the ordeal of the writing marathon.

There is still room for argument as to the immediate effectiveness of these extraordinary newspaper articles in influencing the New York and other state votes for the Constitution, but the papers as a whole were almost instantly accorded the status of a classic. Jefferson, for example, received the first printed volume of *The Federalist* when he was in France and instantly hailed the papers as "the best commentary on the principles of government, which ever was written." In his old age, he recommended that it be a required text in law and government at the newly opened University of Virginia, pointing out that it was habitually appealed to "by all, and rarely declined or denied by any as evidence of the general opinion of those who framed and of those who accepted the Constitution of the United States, on questions as to its genuine meaning." In this view, he was in perfect accord with his great enemy, Chief Justice John Marshall. Nor did acclaim for *The Federalist* come only from American voices. Francois Guizot, John Stuart Mill, Alexis de Tocqueville, Sir Henry Maine, James Bryce were a few of the many eminent thinkers in the nineteenth century to perceive the unique and important contribution of this undoubted "classic."

But perhaps the most impressive external sign of the worth attributed to *The Federalist* is its publishing history. Approximately one hundred editions have appeared since 1788—and we now have a crop of four new ones. The great part of these numerous editions are, as might be expected, American; what is surprising is how many of them were non-American. Early in the nineteenth century, a French translation was being read in France and as far away as Argentina; and two Portuguese and two Spanish editions were made available in the nineteenth century. *The Federalist* has had a scholarly following in Germany, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and recently it has been brought out in Japanese and Italian editions.

WITH this record in mind, one might ask why four new editions, and at this time? To take the last question first, it should be obvious that, amid the ferment of rising new states, an aroused interest in the principles of constitutional government *and* limited confederations of a political or economic sort are of great and urgent interest today—almost as they were on the eve of the ratification of the Constitution. While even a lisping school child might tell you that the space age and the age of the American Revolution are two different worlds, a somewhat more experienced judgment might pause to take stock of recurrent themes that bridge the two eras. For *The Federalist* is by no means only a commentary on the proposed Constitution of 1787: it is a patient and searching inquiry into the nature of government by consent of the governed. Its primary question concerns "requisite energy." How can a government be strong enough to survive and endure, to establish order and promote the welfare of the people, without ruling *over* the people, as dictatorships do, or without lapsing into the "imbecility" of impotent government, open dangerously to "the dreadful dilemma" of dissolution or usurpation? The weakness of a mere confederation; the difference between a direct democracy, confined to a small area, and a *representative* democracy (a "republic" in the proper terminology of that day)

ADRIENNE KOCH, member of the Hictory Department, the University of California, is the author of Power, Morals and the Founding Fathers (*Cornell*), *published this summer. Among her earlier books are* Jefferson and Madison: the Great Collaboration (*Knopf*) *and* The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson (*Columbia*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fear Is What Quickens Me

1.

Many animals that our fathers killed in America
Had quick eyes.
They stared about wildly,
When the moon went dark.
The new moon falls into the freight-yards
Of cities in the south,
But the loss of the moon to the dark hands of Chicago
Does not matter to the deer
In this northern field.

2.

What is that tall woman doing
There, in the trees?
I can hear rabbits and mourning doves whispering together
In the dark grass, there
Under the trees.

3.

I look about wildly.

JAMES WRIGHT

The Starry Night

"That does not keep me from having a terrible need of—shall I say the word—religion. Then I go out at night to paint the stars." Vincent Van Gogh, in a letter to his brother.

The town does not exist
except where one black haired tree slips
up like a drowned woman into the hot sky.
The town is silent. The night boils with eleven stars.
Oh starry starry night! This is how
I want to die.

It moves. They are all alive.
Even the moon bulges in its orange irons
to push children, like a god, from its eye.
The old unseen serpent swallows up the stars.
Oh starry starry night! This is how
I want to die:

into the rushing beast of the night,
sucked up by that great dragon, to split
from my life with no flag,
no belly,
no cry.

ANNE SEXTON

Junk

Huru Welandes worc ne geswiceth
monna aenigum thara the Mimming can
*heardne gehealdan.** — WALDERE

An axe angles
from my neighbor's ashcan;
It is hell's handiwork,
the wood not hickory,
The flow of the grain
not faithfully followed.
The shivered shaft
rises from a shellheap
Of plastic playthings,
paper plates,
And the sheer shards
of shattered tumblers
That were not annealed
for the time needful.
At the same curbside,
a cast-off cabinet
Of wavily-warped
unseasoned wood
Waits to be trundled
in the trash-man's truck.
Haul them off! Hide them!
The heart winces
For junk and gimcrack,
for jerrybuilt things
And the men who make them
for a little money,
Bartering pride
like the bought boxer
Who pulls his punches,
or the paid-off jockey
Who in the home stretch
holds in his horse.
Yet the things themselves
in thoughtless honor
Have kept composure,
like captives who would not
Talk under torture.
Tossed from a tailgate
Where the dump displays
its random dolmens,
Its black barrows
and blazing valleys,
They shall waste in the weather
toward what they were.
The sun shall glory
in the glitter of glass-chips,
Foreseeing the salvage
of the prisoned sand,
And the blistering paint
peel off in patches,
That the good grain
be discovered again.
Then burnt, bulldozed,
they shall all be buried
To the depth of diamonds,
in the making dark
Where halt Hephaestus
keeps his hammer
And Wayland's work
is worn away.

RICHARD WILBUR

*Truly, Wayland's handiwork — the sword Mimming which he made — will never fail any man who is able to wield it bravely.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is compatible with, and even favored by, large size; a sustained inquiry into human motives and reason as they manifest themselves in the history of the West from classical antiquity through the recent revolutionary crisis in America, and in the light of which the authors of *The Federalist* formulate the ends of good government and the intricate specific means to achieve it — these are the central principles that draw the eighty-five papers together. For this strange political classic is neither pure theory, nor mere practicability; but reason *and* experience, principles in the light of feasible practice, tradition and innovation, spoken with an American — even a New York and a Virginia — accent, and yet spoken in universal terms which free men could comprehend then and ponder now.

AS FOR the first question, why four new editions, why this lavish "duplication," my reply must borrow from Machiavelli's phrase, "Where men's lives and fortunes are at stake they are not all insane." This maxim should throw light on the publisher's decisions as much as on the editors' contributions. For each of these books represents something new, either in scholarship or treatment of *The Federalist*: with these four editions on hand, little should stand in the way of converting an acknowledged "classic" into a well-read and considered storehouse of political insight, challenge and guide.

Of the four editions, there is little question that Benjamin F. Wright's is the most valuable, largely because of the excellent introductory essay. Mr. Wright's depth of scholarship in constitutional philosophy and history is the necessary prerequisite to a judicious estimate of the meaning of *The Federalist* in its more intricate and complex aspects. He goes far beyond previous interpretations of *The Federalist*, resolving many apparent paradoxes, and putting to rest many false charges and misconceptions that have hovered over it since the days, for example, when Federalist No. Ten was viewed as an early American version of Marxist determinism — and when this paper was by and large the only one widely and persistently read. The essay cannot possibly analyze the whole flow of the argument — even a book-length treatment such as Gerhart Dietze's does not provide enough elbowroom for that — and sometimes Mr. Wright merely *states* his beliefs about *The Federalist*, or about historical issues, without establishing their likelihood on the basis of evidence. But in general, the rich and interesting essay, combined with the very attractive format and typography of the "John Harvard Library" series, makes this book the best single edition of *The Federalist* in print.

MR. COOKE presents a scholar's edition — also a very handsome book, with large margins and precise though not abundant informational notes. But what Mr. Cooke offers that has *never* been available before is a carefully established definitive edition, based upon the newspaper versions of the text, rather than the book editions which appeared during Hamilton's and Madison's lifetimes. Mr. Cooke's achievement by way of accuracy is not always an unmitigated joy for the reader. "Every sudden *breese* of passion" and "a mitigation of the *burthen*" neither freshen the breeze nor lift the burden. None the less, one must allow for the rare occasion when a change from singular to plural or an elliptical phrase can cue the inquiring scholar to some missing meaning.

His introductory essay is confined largely to the question of the disputed authorship of *The Federalist* papers, and while his discussion incorporates a few details not included in earlier discussions, his conclusions are almost entirely in agreement with the brilliant essays by Douglass Adair (in 1944), whose work Mr. Cooke refers to incidentally only in one footnote. The editor ventures one "interpretative" position in the introduction: he dismisses the effectiveness of "internal" evidence in differentiating the political ideas and styles of Madison and Hamilton in the year 1788. Although it is true that internal evidence cannot exclusively and exhaustively establish the authors of each essay (or each paragraph of a possibly joint essay), it is not at all true that Hamilton and Madison were twins in political thought, or in the style and rhetoric which their markedly different mental and moral traits inclined them to employ. John Quincy Adams, more than a century ago, saw this individuating principle clearly, when he remarked that Madison "in leaving to his illustrious associate the development of the other Departments of the Senate, of the Executive, of the Judiciary and the bearing of the whole system upon the militia, the commerce and the revenues, the military and naval establishments, and to the public economy, it was doubtless because both from inclination and principle he preferred the consideration of those parts of the instrument which bore upon popular right, and the freedom of the citizens, to that of the aristocratic and monarchical elements of the whole fabric."

The two popular, paperback editions, one by Roy Fairfield, the other by Clinton Rossiter, have also markedly different virtues and limitations. Fairfield's edition is distinguished by an excellent bibliographical appendix in which the editor traces the various editions of *The Federalist* from its original newspaper dress to the brink of the present four editions. He also has an "annotative appendix" which is lively, rich in its utilization of recent historical and political-scientific scholarship, and a rapid indoctrination for the newly awakened student of *The Federalist* to the lively "issues" this classic raises. His "introduction" is interesting, particularly in the section where he traces recent translations of *The Federalist*.

In the deeper water of political philosophy, however, Mr. Fairfield is too harmonious a multitude — he welcomes *all* recent interpretations of *The Federalist*, and of its two principal authors. But the most serious and conclusive shortcoming of the Fairfield edition is its coverage: it does not reprint all *The Federalist* papers.

Finally, Mr. Rossiter's paperback edition is likely to be the most widely sold of all. Its cost is low, all the papers are included, there is a helpful table of contents (with brief descriptions of the

Free to WRITERS
seeking a book publisher
Two fact-filled, illustrated brochures tell how to publish your book, get 40% royalties, national advertising, publicity and promotion. Free editorial appraisal. Write Dept. N4
Exposition Press, 386 Park Ave.S.,N.Y.16

SAVE YOUR COPIES OF *THE NATION*

- Each file holds a full year's copies.
- Jesse Jones Volume Files for every publication.
- Covered in durable leather like Kivar, title embossed in 16 Kt. gold.

Satisfaction guaranteed

Attractive and practical for your home or office
3 for $7.00
6 for $13.00
ORDER NOW — send check or money order
Magazine File Co.
520 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N. Y.

FREE DESCRIPTIVE FOLDER UPON REQUEST

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject of each paper), a good index, and an appendix which collates the Constitution with *The Federalist* papers. Unfortunately, the introduction is the barest and most hasty of the four, and the Mentor typography, paper and format are far from being aesthetic or even utilitarian blessings.

There is little doubt that every man's palate, or at least every man's pocketbook, can take him straight to a valuable edition of *The Federalist*. This is good. To make it better, we must first understand and then ask "Publius'" question: how can we preserve and advance the cause of free government without impairing the "requisite energy" by which free governments insure their own preservation and growth?

PUBLICATIONS

"PROGRESSIVE WORLD"
Bold, classic monthly magazine for Atheists and all who respect Truth, Reason, Science *and Common Sense!* We *fight to keep* Church and State separate. 3 months—$1.00; 1 year—$4.00. Send for free sample.
Progressive World-A, 7210 N.E. Glisan St., Portland 13, Oregon

"L'EXPRESS" the leading liberal paper in France today. Send 10c for your sample copy. **Howard Publications, 1475 Broadway, New York 36.**

AFRIQUE action
The liberal voice of emerging Africa
Edited in Tunis, in French
Send 25c for your copy
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS
1475 Broadway New York 36

Atheists! Agnostics!
THE SECULARIST
Leading, dynamic monthly magazine for you. Send $1 for 6 mos. trial (or $2 for yr.) to: **American Secularist Association, Box 91-N, Newark 1, N. J.**

BOOKBUYERS: 10% discount on any book in print. U.S. orders only. Send list and remittance to: **D. FEENEY, 411 Zimmerman Blvd., Buffalo 23, New York.**

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS! YOUR BOOK SHOULD BE PUBLISHED! Your book being saleable, we shall submit it to best royalty publishers of U.S.A. immediately. Write today! **Literary Agent Mead, 915 Broadway, N.Y.C.**

EDUCATION & INSTRUCTION

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog **FREE. Research Association, Box 24-TN, Olympia, Washington.**

Buy Your Books
through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks) at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

The Blessed Dead

THE PAPERS OF ANDREW MELMOTH. By Hugh Sykes Davies. William Morrow & Co. 221 pp. $3.50.

Terry Southern

THIS novel they describe as "disturbing," but that is hardly the word; the best word would be "frightening," if we had not lost the capacity for rational fright—which is the thesis of the book and, once understood, is itself the source for the most profound fear of all. It concerns genetic effects of the radiation produced by nuclear testing, and it does so in a manner which should be regarded as anything but speculative. Lest it be presumed, however, that this is one of those tedious mixtures of science fiction and professional humanism, be assured it is not. It has a spanking bright plot and a tinkling Jamesian style, and if its finale is as black and conclusive as any nightmare of Beckett or Céline, that may merely explain why and how the publishers hedged more than a little when they settled for a word like "disturbing." (One can well imagine the big voice of the irate sales manager: "For chrissake, man, you *cannot* call it 'totally depressing!'")

In any case, it is a work of high seriousness and originality—purporting to be an attempt to explain the disappearance of a young English scientist, Andrew Melmoth, by showing us his research papers, recounting conversations and experiences with him, and by delving into his early life.

Presumably, the alienation Melmoth felt for his fellows began when, at the age of twelve, he came across some older boys stoning the nest of a moorhen, tried to dissuade them, was beaten unconscious and then carried and left inside a pitch-black cave of labyrinthine complexity, where he lay or crawled for two days until found by a searching party. For some time afterwards he was unable, or unwilling, to speak—and when he finally did resume speaking, could only speak, or so it often seemed, of what was true . . . that is, things *known* and things *relevant*. This curious trait, which lends itself to objectiveness and a lack of sentimentality, proves to be both his strength and his undoing.

The work, in which he is wholly absorbed, is genetic research with rats—and it is in this connection that he makes his "disturbing" discoveries, many of which are supported by actual (real-life) documentation. The common rat (*Rattus norvegicus*) in varying strains is used in genetic research because its genetic corollary to man is fixed, and also because of its rapid generative cycle; at four years, a rat will have produced eight generations, or the equivalent of about three centuries of human evolution. Thus, the inheritance pattern of recessive and dominant traits —including those of induced mutation and those purely evolutionary—is quickly observable. The pertinence of this to radiation effects is clear enough, viz.: to date the strongest observable increases of radioactive material have been found in rainfall; rainfall goes into sewers; sewers are infested with rats. If a human genetic mutation through radiation is to develop, this is where it will first be apparent; it is suggested that such a mutation is now in process.

Melmoth's close study of rats leads him to an understanding of them, as a species, that he is unable to feel for man. The purity and directness of his thought cannot cope with the devious rationale which accommodates such phenomena as nuclear testing with its known effects. His outlook for the future falls on a bleak landscape indeed; he sees even no hope for the great war which would mercifully deliver man from his doom while he yet retains a vestige of his former image and dignity. The tests have replaced war, and there is no possibility whatever of ending them—it is even conceivable that a mutation which would, and does, allow this insanity has already occurred—and the tests will, in the end, accomplish horrors of such a monstrous nature that the dead and unborn will be blessed, and the dying will rejoice.

At last, of course, Melmoth identifies more with rats than with people and, one day, simply does not come up out of the sewers. And the reader may decide whether this is mere madness or a gesture of considerable meaning. In either case, we are left with nothing—only haunted by a fragment of sadness and beauty, and terrible knowledge, which marks the close:

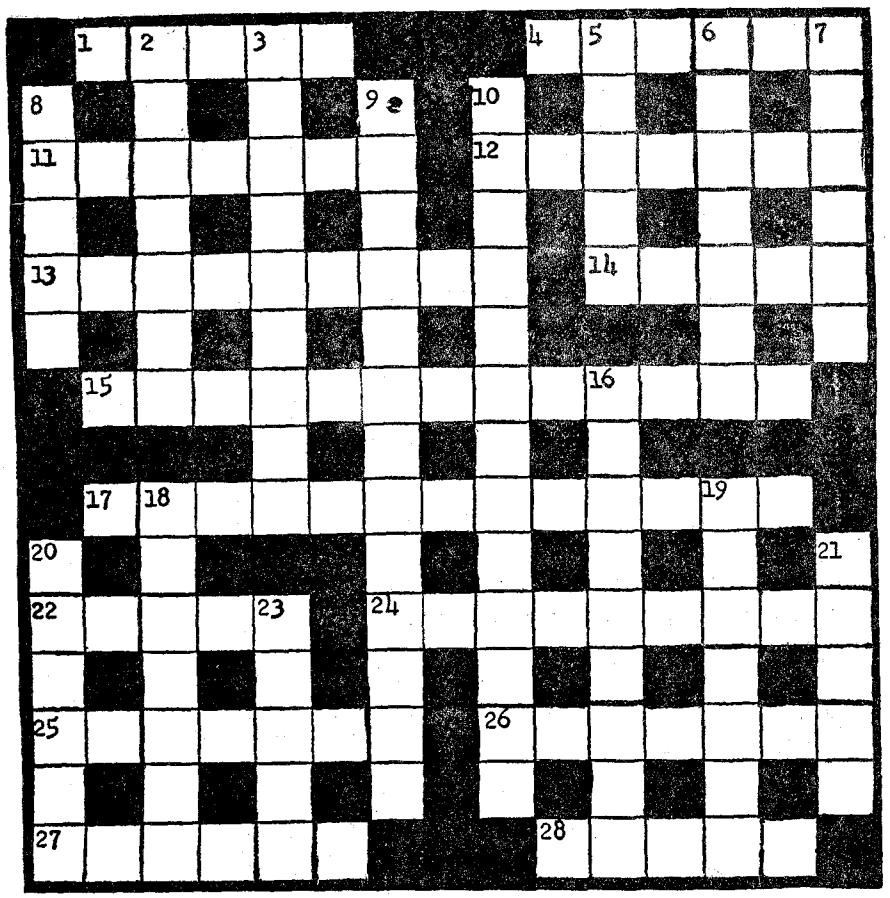
> *Some human qualities there are which seem more precious than gems. But having too little of hardness, they cannot in the nature of things endure for long.*

TERRY SOUTHERN'S latest book is Flash and Filigree (*Coward-McCann*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 927

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Live bear? (5)
4 Brushes off those getting hitched? (6)
11 Twist and pull heaps of hay this way! (7)
12 Going around a little gets spoken about. (7)
13 The way to extend the business opportunities of north Cuba? (6, 3)
14 A lack of collective agreement in some corners. (5)
15 Command generally used, although some make light of it. (6, 7)
17 Abbreviated version of a tune associated with drilling? (10, 3)
22 It could imply order in the capital. (5)
24 Might it be more commonly drunk? (9)
25 The sole protector is likely to be big-headed. (7)
26 Does it involve breaking up the A & P syndicate? (7)
27 Register indication of it when a young man turns to drink. (2, 4)
28 Remains grandma's support, possibly. (5)

DOWN:

2 Being confused about the first and last letters of port? (7)
3 The sort of chapter I'd find inappropriate in "Dear Land." (4, 5)
5 and 16 This broken-down bird seems to get away with something in the Communist struggle. (5, 9)
6 No longer of any use in our town. (7)
7 The mountains rise with a quiet admonition to make a commotion. (6)
8 Might they involve applications for clumsy people? (5)
9 Good spots for play that might sound descriptive of Crusoe and company. (3, 2, 3, 5)
10 Look over road maps spread under you? (7, 6)
16 See 5 down
18 Covering many things at once. (7)
19 The right way for urbanity to end a lot of foolishness. (7)
20 Somewhat like moss, to compare the sound of it. (6)
21 There's little work done with me about to become absorbed! (5)
23 Locomotion associated with down-under. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 926

ACROSS: 1 Saponaceous; 9 Redouble; 10 Umpire; 11 General; 12 Sternum; 14 Unpaid; 15 Surfaces; 17 Bandaged; 22 Conflux; 24 Bedevil; 26 Closet; 27 Reported; 28 Clandestine. DOWN: 2 Aforesaid; 5 Equator; 6 Upper; 7 Herein; 8 Arouse; 13 Aside; 16 Angle iron; 18 and 29 across A world of good; 19 Glutton; 20 One-spot; 21 Opines; 23 and 4 Fuselages; 25 and 3 Free on board.

RESORTS

PINECREST IN THE BERKSHIRES
W. Cornwall, Conn.: On Housatonic River
A delightful vacation resort near Music Mt., Summer Theatres. Sandy beach, swimming, fishing, boating; tennis, badminton, ping-pong. Lovely lawns for relaxing. Delicious food. Cabins with private showers and fireplaces. Folk Singers, folk dance teachers, reduced rates.
Diana & Abe Berman Code 203—OR 2-6678

MERRIEWOODE
HIGHLAND LAKE, STODDARD, N. H.
Suggest that if you must have intelligent companionship, great beauty of environment, good food and plentiful, and things to do, MERRIEWOODE has them all to give.
We pledge all our facilities which include just about everything, to the success of your most important holiday.
Opens July 1 ● Non-secterian
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Marlow-Hilltop 6-3349

WINDY HILL ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Records, books. Summer Theatre, Golf nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. $55.00 Weekly; $8.00 Daily; Weekend: Fri. Supper thru Sun. Dinner $16.
Tel. Newburgh: JO 2-1232
Jane C. Arenz, R.D. Box 160, Walden, N.Y.

VACATION ON THE FARM . . Relax on 100 beautiful acres . . Wholesome food in abundance . . Lake on premises . . Animals for children . . Perfect for families . . Steam in each room when needed . . Meet 30 other nice people. Adults $40, Children $25 per week. Y. Schwartz, SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N.Y. Phone: Jeff. 290.

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.
Beautiful 8 mile lake. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing. Entertainment. Superb Cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevtor. Special "single" weekends. Group facilities. In New York City call at local rate.
FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449
FOREST house
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. THE COVERED WAGON. ALgonquin 4-1788 (N.Y.C.)

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance. The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC). 569 Hudson Street, New York 14.

PERSONALS

I AM ENGAGED IN A STUDY which involves the march of Coxey's Army, and I would be grateful for any information concerning papers or other materials bearing on the march, Coxey, Carl Brown, the Unknown Smith, or any of the others connected with that event, or the Uniontown, Pa. coke strike of April 1894, or the history of Economy, Pa. Please send to: Box 596, c/o The Nation.

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
The NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION in the CLASSROOM

From a Student–

You are assured of a lifetime subscriber—I would not be without *The Nation.* As a political science major student, it is easily worth two or three extra grade points per semester to me, and the best "textbook" I've yet bought.

THOMAS J. CZERWINSKI

Milwaukee, Wis.

From a Teacher–

The Nation is an extremely valuable aid to me in my current history course. My students find its excellent articles both interesting and thought-provoking. *The Nation's* high ideals and its progressive editorial policy give hope and encouragement to young people who wish to be helpful to mankind. I recommend *The Nation* to my students for stimulating and beneficial reading both during and after their college years.

EDWIN W. PETERSON
Ass't Prof., Dep't of History
Iowa State University

Ames, Ia.

Any bona fide student can get The Nation *for $6 a year (regular rate, $8). And, for the convenience of teachers and students who want to use* The Nation *in the classroom, we offer a*

SPECIAL CLASSROOM RATE: 50c PER MONTH PER STUDENT

in bundle orders of ten copies or more delivered to the same address. Desk copy is supplied free to the teacher. Simply fill out the coupon below for immediate service.

THE NATION

THE NATION, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

For the STUDENT

☐ Please send me *The Nation* for one year at the student rate of $6.
I am a student at .....

For the TEACHER

☐ Please send me:
..... copies per month for ..... months.
(minimum order 10 copies per month)

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

9-2-61

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED